

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 OES-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 CU-02

BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AEC-05

EB-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /096 W
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R 171031Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5438
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RO, UR
SUBJECT: MACOVESCU VISIT TO USSR

1. SUMMARY. ROMANIAN EMBOFF, WHO TRAVELLED WITH MACOVESCU AND PARTICIPATED IN COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING, GAVE US UNUSUALLY DETAILED BRIEFING ON DECEMBER 9-13 MACOVESCU VISIT AND ON COMMUNIQUE WHICH APPEARED IN PRAVDA DECEMBER 14. ROMANIANS APPEAR TO FEEL THEY STOLE A MARCH ON THE SOVIETS DURING THE VISIT, GETTING THEM TO AGREE TO ROMANIAN VERSION OF COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS AMONG STATES. OUR SOURCE IMPLIED THAT BUCHAREST IS NOW READY TO QUOTE THAT LANGUAGE BACK AT MOSCOW. ROMANIAN PROFESSED SATISFACTION AT SOVIET TREATMENT OF MACOVESCU AND AT HEAVY SOVIET PRESS PLAY; HE CLAIMED A BREZHNEV MEETING WAS NEVER PLANNED. GROMYKO HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO BUCHAREST (HIS FIRST EVER IN A BILATERAL CONTEXT); THE ROMANIANS EXPECT HIM IN 1975. END SUMMARY.

2. ATMOSPHERICS. ROMANIAN EMBOFF MADE CLEAR THAT ROMANIANS CONSIDER THIS A VERY IMPORTANT VISIT AND ARE PLEASED WITH COMMUNIQUE. HE NOTED THAT THIS WAS FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT BY A ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SINCE MANESCU CAME IN 1969, AND THEN THERE WERE SO MANY DISAGREEMENTS THAT THERE WAS NO COMMUNIQUE. THIS TIME MASCOVESCU GOT FAIRLY HIGH-LEVEL TREATMENT, SEEING BOTH PODGORNYY AND KOSYGIN. ROMANIAN EMBOFF SAID THERE WAS NO PLAN FOR MACOVESCU TO SEE BREZHNEV, ALTHOUGH HE ALSO NOTED THAT SOVIETS TOLD ROMANIANS THAT BREZHNEV WAS "SICK." ROMANIAN ALSO KNOCKED DOWN OUR SPECULATION THAT MACOVESCU MIGHT HAVE TRAVELLED TO SOVIET GEORGIA TO MARK TIME IN HOPES THAT BREZHNEV MIGHT THEN SEE HIM; ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, TBILISI VISIT HAD BEEN PROGRAMMED LONG IN ADVANCE. COMMUNIQUE NOTES THAT GROMYKO HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO MAKE AN "OFFICIAL FRIENDLY VISIT" AT AN UNSPECIFIED DATE. WE WERE TOLD THAT THE ROMANIANS BELIEVE THEY HAVE GROMYKO TIED DOWN IN 1975; THIS WOULD BE HIS FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT EVER TO ROMANIA IN A BILATERAL CONTEXT.

3. PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS. ROMANIANS ARE EXTREMELY PLEASED WITH COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. THEY SUCCEEDED IN GETTING LANGUAGE ON "EQUALITY, CONFIDENTIAL

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RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, MUTUAL BENEFIT, AND REFRAINING FROM THE USE OF FORCE AND THE THREAT OF FORCE." ROMANIAN EMBOFF SAID THERE WAS MAJOR BATTLE OVER THIS LANGUAGE AND THAT IT WAS RESOLVED ONLY BY THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS. COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE PRECEDING THE PRINCIPLES INDICATES (WITHOUT SAYING SO) THAT THE PRINCIPLES APPLY ONLY BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS (SINCE IT REFERS TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ON THE BASIS OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"); BUT ROMANIANS APPARENTLY
INTEND TO QUOTE THESE PRINCIPLES AS ALSO APPLYING TO THEIR
RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IN FACT, JUDGING BY OUR
SOURCE'S LIP-SMACKING, WE WOULD EXPECT TO SEE ROMANIANS
PLAYING THIS COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE AT EVERY CONCEIVABLE OPPORTUNITY.

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4. COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY. ROMANIAN EMBOFF CLAIMED (AND OUR READING OF THE COMMUNIQUE WOULD INDICATE THAT HE IS RIGHT) THAT ROMANIANS PAID A FAIRLY SMALL PRICE FOR SOVIET ACQUIESCENCE ON THE PRINCIPLES. HE SAID THAT SOVIETS WANTED A REFERENCE TO INTEGRATION OF SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICIES; THE ROMANIANS REFUSED. SOVIETS ALSO ALLEGEDLY WANTED THE PHRASE "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" IN THE SECTION ON SOCIALIST COUNTRY RELATIONS; THE ROMANIANS TALKED THEM DOWN AT LEAST SOMEWHAT, TO "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM." THE COMMUNIQUE IS FAIRLY THIN ON THE COMMUNIST UNITY LANGUAGE WHICH THE SOVIETS LOVE. THERE ARE REFERENCES TO STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIP, TO MANY-SIDED TIES, AND TO UNITY AND SOLIDARITY -- BUT NONE OF THIS SHOULD GIVE THE ROMANIANS MUCH TROUBLE. ROMANIAN EMBOFF CONFIRMED THAT NO OVERALL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED OR SOUGHT ON DIFFERING SOVIET AND ROMANIAN APPROACHES ON FOREIGN POLICY. SOVIETS LISTENED, WITHOUT AGREEING, TO MACOVESCU'S RECIATION OF ROMANIAN PARTY CONGRESS' DECISIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY (INCLUDING DESIRE FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND ALBANIA), AND ROMANIANS LISTEDED IN LIKE FASHION TO SOVIET DESCRIPTION OF THEIR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY.

5. SUMMITS AND CONSULTATIONS. COMMUNIQUE PROVIDES FOR INCREASE IN MEETINGS AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN TWO MFA'S AT VARIOUS LEVELS. ROMANIAN EMBOFF SAID THAT, APART FROM GROMYKO VISIT, THIS WOULD NOT AMOUNT TO MUCH MORE THAN IS ALREADY BEING DONE. THERE IS SOME AMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SUMMIT MEETINGS, BUT ROMANIAN EMBOFF SAID THIS SHOULD BE READ AS A GENERAL STATEMENT AND NOT AS A HARBINGER OF A BREZHNEV-CEAUSESCU MEETING. INCIDENTALLY, HE SAID THE SOVIETS DID NOT ASK FOR

A COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE TO BREZHNEV'S U.S., FRG, AND FRENCH SUMMITS -- THIS SURPRISES.

6. OTHER BILATERAL PROBLEMS. ACCORDING TO ROMANIAN SOURCE, ECONOMIC QUESTIONS WERE NOT DISCUSSED IN DETAIL, AND COMMUNIQUE IN FACT MAKES ONLY ONE PRO FORMA REFERENCE TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN CEMA FRAMEWORK. SOURCE SAID THAT COMMUNIST QUESTIONS (E.G., EUROPEAN CP CONFERENCE OR BUDAPEST PREPARATORY MEETING) WERE NOT DISCUSSED SINCE THIS WAS A GOVERNMENTAL VISIT. THIS ASSERTION IS SUPPORTED BY LIST OF WORKING-LEVEL SOVIETS PARTICIPATING IN TALKS (NONE OF WHOM ARE CPSU OFFICIALS);
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ON THE OTHER HAND, MACOVESCU DID SEE THREE POLITBURO MEMBERS. WE NOTE THAT PRAVDA DECEMBER 16 CARRIES A LONG REPORT ON GUS HALL'S CALL FOR A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE, IN WHICH HE SPEAKS OF CERTAIN PARTIES WHO WANT TO POSTPONE IT; ROMANIAN EMBOFF ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ROMANIAN CP MIGHT BE ONE OF HALL'S TARGETS.

7. CSCE. WE NOTED THAT THE COMMUNIQUE PARAGRAPH ON CSCE SEEMED UNCOMMONLY SHORT (IT REFERS ONLY TO AN EARLY SUMMIT CONCLUSION). ROMANIAN EMBOFF CONCEDED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO MEETING OF MINDS ON CSCE SUBSTANCE, PARTICULARLY MILITARY ASPECTS, ON WHICH MACOVESCU OUTLINED ROMANIAN POSITION AND SOVIETS JUST LISTENED.

8. MIDDLE EAST AND CYPRUS. THE ROMANIANS WANTED THE LANGUAGE ON THE ME PEACE CONFERENCE AT GENEVA TO CONTAIN A PASSAGE FAVORING THE PARTICIPATION OF INTERESTED STATES WITH A CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE (READ ROMAN); SOVIETS REFUSED. IN CYPRUS SECTION SOVIETS WANTED A REFERENCE TO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE; ROMANIANS OBJECTED SUCCESSFULLY, CLAIMING THAT MAKARIOS'S RETURN HAD COMPLICATED MATTERS. SOVIETS ALSO, AS USUAL, WANTED A CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF "ALL" FOREIGN TROOPS FROM THE TERRITORY OF CYPRUS; THE ROMANIANS (PRESUMABLY TO MAKE THE LANGUAGE MORE CONSISTENT WITH SECURITY COUCL RESOLUTION 353) REFECTED "ALL." ON THE ME, THE ROMANIANS DID BUY THE SOVIET LANGUAGE ON ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM "ALL" OCCUPIED TERRITORIES; OUR SOURCE IMPLIED THAT THE ROMANIANS NORMALLY AVOID USING "ALL" IN THIS CONTEXT.

9. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO USNATO'S USE OF THIS MATERIAL IF SOURCE IS STRICTLY PROTECTED.
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